20c MARCH 12, 1951

New Republic

LABOR'S BREAK WITH TRUMAN

AN EDITORIAL

A NEW PROGRAM FOR ASIA

By WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

COMMUNIST SPLIT IN ITALY

By PERCY WINNER

EDNA MILLAY AND HER TIME

By MARY M. COLUM

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WASHINGTON WIRE

ALL THE various crises are at full boil in the Capital but one new element has been added. Last week a couple of yellow crocuses bloomed on the White House lawn. For no good reason at all we feel a lot better.

Army searchlights were trundled out for a Hollywood-style premier of a well-meant but mediocre film here recently, "They Were Not Divided." The US Army band played in the street and uniformed WACs acted as usherettes. We got to wondering how far the armed services should aid this type of promotion, well intentioned though it may be. What gave us pause was that at about the same time General Bradley, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was personally handing out awards and medals for the so-called Freedoms Foundation, a much more dubious publicity affair, at Valley Forge. This Foundation was dreamed up by Wall Street broker E. F. Hutton and advertising man Don Belding. Big business kicks in $100,000 or so a year which is then handed back to big business, editorial writers and about anybody else who supports "free enterprise" and the "American way." Medals and prizes go out in carload lots. Good old Westbrook Pegler got a medal; so did Sam Pettengill, the notorious "Committee for Constitutional Government" man. Others on the award list were the National Association of Manufacturers, the US Chamber of Commerce, the American Medical Association, Republic Steel, the Investment Bankers' Association and all the rest. For the movie premier they had WACs as usherettes. For Freedoms Foundation it was General Bradley who served as window dressing.

A queer twist to Freedoms Foundation is its effort to pin unwelcome awards on trade unions. The AFL President Green said the *American Federationist* wouldn't accept the $1,500 offered, but the Foundation included its name in the publicity just the same. The CIO Electrical Workers contemptuously rejected their award; so did the *Machinists' Monthly Journal*. It's getting so it's hard not to win a prize these days. Just say "free enterprise," and you'll have a general handing you $1,500.

As we get it, here's the Korean story in brief: the Chinese are building up for a new attack, but momentarily there's a stalemate. Chinese aggressive plans elsewhere are bogged down because of involvement in Korea where one estimate is that they have suffered 800,000 casualties. The Chinese are believed to have 185,000 men mobilized on the Indo-China frontier, but the kick-off whistle doesn't blow. Why? Again, maybe it's Korea. Also French Commander de Tasigny has revitalized his defense force with US equipment, and Indo-Chinese nationalist forces are now reputedly swinging to Bao Dai. Things look surprisingly better there—and in Siam and Burma, where the US must get its rubber and tin. The failure of the UN to hold in Korea would almost certainly have blocked a treaty with Japan, the signing of which now seems likely. To sum up: China may wish to extricate herself from Korea almost as much as we do. We are unlikely to accept any peace agreement, however, which does not include guarantees halting Chinese adventurism elsewhere.

We looked down from the Senate press gallery last week when Truman suddenly popped in to give Barkley a new gavel. It was a sweet and friendly little ceremony. The President was as simple and human as a school boy. Afterwards he shook hands with all comers—Taft, Wherry, the page boys, Fullbright. We know everybody had exactly the same feeling that we did as the show went on: "What a really nice little guy Harry is!" You can draw any moral from this you like.

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What we thought was that if Truman were a parliamentary prime minister, appearing regularly in Congress, half his troubles would vanish.

Senator McCarthy's betting habits, like most other things about him, are in dispute. One witness in the RFC inquiry last week swore that McCarthy kept betting and losing at a nearby racetrack, but that his companion, Lustron Corporation head Strandlund, tore up the checks. The Lustron Corporation (which was a heavy RFC borrower before going broke), you remember, at one time paid McCarthy $10,000 for putting his name on a piece of their literature. There's no dispute about that. Strandlund himself denies the betting charge, or says that, anyway, it was only one check. Yet McCarthy's personal finances are almost as fascinating as his charges against the State Department. For four years—1946 through 1949—McCarthy paid no income taxes. As figured in Wisconsin, where reports are public, he recorded a gross income of $67,000 and claimed deductions of $51,000 for stock-market losses and around $18,500 for interest payments. Yet despite this net loss, McCarthy, a gay bachelor with a taste for the better things of life, managed to live very well indeed.

The St. Lawrence Waterway would have been of inestimable value in two wars. It would be a major defense asset now in bringing open-pit iron ores cheaply from Labrador to replace those from the depleted Mesabi Range. We do not have the Waterway because lobbyist pressure was too great. The big New England private-power interests did not want TVA-type competition. Vested interests in seaboard ports did not want inland lake ports brought 1,000 miles nearer Britain. Again and again Canada has urged co-operative construction. No, said the lobbyists. Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt and Truman all endorsed the project. No, said the lobbyists. So now the Mesabi Range nears exhaustion, and the iron and steel lobbyists have switched sides to aid their Labrador holdings. They want to hurry the project, and Congress may vote it.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

European Union

SIR: I am sure that, in the light of your warm support for European union, readers of the *New Republic* will be interested in a letter from Sir David Maxwell Fyfe and myself published recently in the London *Times*.

At its meeting last November after about a year's discussion on this question, the Assembly at Strasbourg established a special committee of seven to settle the final form of a Protocol to amend the Statute of the Council of Europe. It consisted of the undersigned as Chairman and Rapporteur, and also of Maurice Schumann (France), Carlo Schmid (Germany), Antonio Azara (Italy), George Bohy (Belgium), Marga A.M. Klompe (Holland). Its final recommendations were unanimous.

The Protocol, if adopted, will provide something more than co-operation at government level as exists at present in, for instance, the Office of European Economic Co-operation Council, but something less than the kind of supra-national authority which has always been opposed by the British Government. We believe that the difficulties of the Council of Europe have been greatly increased by the transfer—both by its critics and its friends—of the terminology of different centuries and circumstances. We therefore ask you to let us describe the essence of the procedure put forward by the committee.

This is that no powers should be ceded in advance to the Council of Europe. It is only when all governments have agreed that a concrete proposal is a proper subject of united action that powers will be given to carry that proposal into effect. The normal pattern of working would be that the Assembly should devote itself to evolving practical and detailed measures instead of merely to resolutions. When a measure comes to the Committee of Ministers the governments through their representatives would say whether in their view this was a subject for united action or not. If they took the view that it was, then they would evolve the highest common factor of agreement and undertake to give effect thereto. As far as the Council of Europe is concerned the Committee of Ministers would be in a position analogous to that of a second chamber. As far as the governments are concerned, it would be a permanent treaty-making machinery in which complete liberty of action and the requirement of unanimity would be preserved. Nevertheless, both committee and governments would be rightly subject to the pressure of informed European opinion on the desirability of the united action proposed.

The other aspect is to remove some of the duplication in international agencies by letting an executive authority of the Council of Europe, responsible to both the Committee of Ministers and the Assembly, take care of those organizations which already exist under the OEEC convention. In the future, the same authority would also take care of other international organizations created by the procedure outlined above. Defense would no longer be removed from the scope of the Council of Europe.

It is not suggested, of course, that this Protocol is incapable of further amendment and improvement. But it does, at least, provide the possibility of the emergence of that political authority "with limited functions but real powers" which is the unanimous aim of the Assembly. Nor should it be necessary to stress the relevance of these proposals to present-day defense problems and the appointment of General Eisenhower.

It is plain enough that the closer integration of Europe is coming inevitably, owing to the needs of defense; that is beyond argument. The old dilemmas are disappearing; all that remains as the choice for this country is whether we are to have a European authority created by Western Europe itself, under the guidance of Great Britain, or whether we are to have one imposed from outside.

R. G. W. MACKAY

House of Commons
London

The Great Debate

SIR: I have read with great interest the article "Scientists and the Great Debate" (*NR*, February 5) by A. G. Mezerik. The line of demarcation is not between scientists and nonscientists but between reasonable and honest people and the rest. Scientists are silent, for they have learned that the first category is a hopeless minority. The only choice left to them is between non-co-operation and shameful slavery.

Princeton, N. J. ALBERT EINSTEIN

No Joke

SIR: For shame! While I was reading the February 5 *NR*, what did I see: "We can always adopt an efficient parliamentary system of government after the next war ends." Come now, even if in a sarcastic vein, we can't joke about that. *There won't be any parliaments over man after the next war.* In my opinion just a few men with clubs sitting around a table of rock.

New York City MURRAY J. SHAINIS

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New Republic

LABOR'S BREAK WITH TRUMAN

AMERICAN mobilization for defense is miring down in disagreement and distrust between the Administration and organized labor. Plans for strengthening our armed forces and those of our allies and at the same time steadily increasing our power to produce the things we need at home will collapse unless a way is promptly found to give working men and women confidence in the way our preparedness program is being managed.

So gigantic a production task as we have undertaken can succeed only if there is a basic unity of purpose among all groups and a belief that benefits and sacrifices will be equally shared. Organized labor, on the contrary, has become convinced that it is being forced to bear the economic burden of this emergency; it senses that the Government has been captured by the great corporations and is being used by them to press their advantage against labor.

We believe that labor is largely justified in its attitude. But the need for drastic action would be as great if labor's case was entirely selfish and unfounded. The 15 million workers represented by the United Labor Policy Committee, which is directing the present walkout from the Government, must be brought back into wholehearted support of the defense program if it is not to fail. As the nation's leader, President Truman's duty is to create a situation in which men of good will in labor and in management can work together. It is his job to find a meeting ground upon which the bitter issues, which have grown up between the union spokesmen and Charles E. Wilson, can be resolved.

Truman should begin by summoning a national labor-management conference to review the present deadlock and to devise a mutual plan for its solution. When the Defense Mediation Board collapsed just before Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt did just that. Out of that meeting came the no-strike pledge and the pattern for solving labor disputes which remained in force throughout the war. Another such national conference is needed right away. Possibly agricultural leaders as well as the leaders of labor and management should be asked to take part. An invitation of this kind from the President could have the effect of opening up the highest councils of the Government so as to give all the main segments of the population a voice in important decisions. It could dissipate many of labor's fears that businessmen are going to be allowed to continue running the defense program by themselves.

After all the parties were brought together by such a meeting, the President himself would have to make sure that they were kept together by honest application of the policies agreed upon. To assure that, the best course would be to fire Wilson at once and replace him with a man—not necessarily from labor's ranks or known to be partial to labor—who will take a democratic approach to his job.

Charles Wilson demanded of the President, and was given, an unprecedented grant of powers before he would accept the position of Defense Mobilizer. He has now demonstrated that his purpose in insisting on such sweeping authority was to organize the mobilization program along dictatorial lines. Clearly Wilson thinks of the defense program as his own private preserve to direct as he sees fit, with only such advice from the outside as *he* considers valuable. Labor advice patently is not in that class.

The record shows that the country was better off when Charles E. Wilson was running only the General Electric Company. The best service he could give his country today would be to return to that job which he does so well. Labor, however, is not demanding Wilson's removal. Its spokesmen are willing to go along with the President in giving him a chance to change his methods of operation. In the short run, if the President takes a personal hand in reshaping the procedures and aims of the Defense Mobilization Agency, the conflict can be held in check. The minimum reforms would be these:

Reconstitution of the Wage Stabilization Board, enlarging it and authorizing it to adjudicate disputes arising from the policies it set;

All out support for amendments to the Defense Production Act to permit stabilization of the cost of living, not possible while the Act excludes most foods from price control and makes no provision for subsidy payments at retail needed to bring prices down;

Appointment of qualified labor men at key points in all the defense agencies.

Labor also has unfulfilled obligations of leadership.

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Up until now, it has stated its case in the negative. Its spokesmen have forcibly pointed out what is wrong with the way mobilization is being run and what groups are taking unfair advantage of the nation in a time of trouble. But labor has not stated a positive program of its own in terms clear enough to convince non-labor groups that it is fighting for the national interest and not merely to fatten its own purse. Truman's job will be made easier and labor's sound position stronger if the middle group of Americans, not committed by their interests either to the unions or the employers, can be shown that in this instance labor is acting for the general welfare. The press has been busy creating the opposite impression since the rupture in the Wage Stabilization Board. It will take a highly organized public-relations campaign of network radio addresses, national and local advertising and meeting to get the true story across to the public.

Labor also has an obligation to put its cards on the table before the President. It has stated what its objections are in Wilson's administration. Now it should tell the President, in positive terms, exactly what it proposes on all the points in its previous indictment. Exactly what does labor want done about prices, wages, manpower and representation in the Government? The President and the country deserve such a full and frank statement from labor.

Organized labor has no doubts about the need for building a democratic world and no reluctance about assuming its fair share of the burden involved in doing so. Labor will not walk out on American defense. Its recent actions were taken ultimately to speed production for defense, not to slow it down. The union leaders who have forced a showdown on the question of what kind of mobilization we shall have while there is still time to reorganize and improve it have done a national service.

The blame for the present deadlock must fall heaviest on Truman. He has delegated responsibility which the people intended to be his alone. Reconciling conflicts as broad and as deep as those which now exist with labor is properly work for the President of the United States himself.

A solution can be found when Truman personally begins to seek one.

THE WEEK

THE WAGE FORMULA

While normal labor-relations machinery was at a standstill last week pending solution of the wage muddle, Defense Department spokesmen got in touch with leaders of 79,000 striking wool workers with pleas to get back to work because the armed forces needed woolen blankets badly. Earlier the woolen industry itself had struck when management spokesmen said that they would sell no more wool at the price ceilings the Government had fixed in January. It was only after Price Administrator Michael Di Salle had exempted defense goods from price limitations that management had ended its strike. Now the question was: What incentives would the Government offer the *workers?*

Since the Textile Workers Union won wage increases last year of almost 10 percent, its members are ineligible for direct increases under the new formula issued by Economic Stabilization Director Eric Johnston. All of labor, and especially the TWUA members in the cotton-rayon industry who have called a strike for March 15, is watching to see what the wool workers will get. Just how will the Wage Stabilization Board apply the various "escape" clauses in the Johnston formula? How much will the workers get through "escalator" clauses, fringe benefits and the relief of "hardships and inequities"?

The wool workers are a classic example of why many unions have rejected an outright wage "freeze." Despite a large percentage boost last September, the first since 1948, wool manufacture is among the lowest-paid industries in the country, with an average hourly rate of $1.25—compared with $2.20 for John Lewis' miners. Nevertheless, the union is willing to go along with the Government's new wage formula to the extent of channeling its demands toward non-inflationary pension and insurance gains. The extent to which the employers and the Government concede to the demand for such fringe benefits and a moderate cost-of-living increase in this case will be some measure of how successful Johnston's complicated formula is likely to be in pegging wages.

SELF-INCRIMINATION

The Supreme Court has again narrowed the privilege to plead self-incrimination contained in the Constitution's Fifth Amendment. By a five-to-three decision, the Court upheld a contempt conviction of Jane Rogers, former treasurer of the Communist Party in Denver. Mrs. Rogers had voluntarily testified to being a Communist Party official and, after answering most of the questions, had refused to answer grand jury questions regarding the name of the person to whom she turned over the party books on the ground that she did not want to subject "a person or persons to the same thing that I'm going through."

Chief Justice Vinson and four other

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Justices held that "a refusal to answer cannot be justified by a desire to protect others from punishment, much less to protect another from interrogation by a grand jury." Justices Black, Frankfurter and Douglas, dissenting, charged that the majority was taking an "effective" method of whittling away the privilege of self-incrimination. The decision, they said, "creates this dilemma for witnesses: On the one hand, they risk imprisonment for contempt by asserting the privilege prematurely; on the other, they might lose the privilege if they answer a single question. The court's view makes the protection depend on timing so refined that lawyers, let alone laymen, will have difficulty in knowing when to claim it."

DEFENSE BOTTLENECK

As Army and defense installations are mushrooming in communities already suffering from years of inadequate home construction, high rents reported in all parts of the nation are fast becoming a national scandal. Defense workers and GIs have become the victims of unscrupulous home and apartment house owners. As a result, the turnover in vital defense industries and the lack of re-enlistment of Army trainees are hampering the mobilization program.

At Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri, which was reactivated last fall, a staff writer for the St. Louis *Star-Times* found three GI families splitting the $100-a-month rent on a shack seven miles west of Ft. Wood which had no hot water, toilet or sink.

In San Diego, where rents were decontrolled last August, prices have soared so high that the Rohr Aircraft Corporation reported a 70 percent labor turnover due to the fact that workers couldn't find a place where they could afford to live. The Convair Company also reports that 50 percent of its new employees cannot find a place to live.

Meanwhile, Congress has been working on a defense-housing bill which has been termed a bonanza to private builders at public risk—no answer to the immediate problem in defense areas. The National Association of Real Estate Boards, big wheel in the housing lobby, asked Congress to amend the Administration's multi-billion dollar housing bill to lift Regulation X on credit controls in defense areas, extend the maximum mortgage amortization period on homes from 25 to 30 years, and increase the maximum mortgage amount of one-family homes to $9,000. Last week, the House Banking and Currency Committee reported out a battered version of the bill, complete with 30 amendments including the above three.

The bill provides $3 billion for federal insurance of mortgages on privately built homes. It provides "standby" power for Government aid to housing in defense areas where private industry cannot meet the need and permits direct federal construction of housing, but provides no specific amount for this purpose.

Leo Goodman of the CIO Housing Committee told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, now considering the bill, that the Government's housing agencies have been complacent in the face of concerted pressure by the real estate lobby. "They have consented to: artificial limitation of upper-crust housing starts, in order to keep up the price; over-pricing of rental housing built under Government guaranteed mortgage plans; and almost complete lack of action in the lower-priced housing field where the need is most acute."

CIVIL-RIGHTS CONFERENCE

Congress should concentrate on extending civil rights rather than on restricting them, the Fourth Annual Conference on Civil Liberties demanded last week at the fourth annual meeting in Washington, D. C. Over 100 labor, church and welfare members met to discuss security and freedom that are today threatened by totalitarianism abroad and by intolerance and fear at home.

Speakers at the Conference lashed out against Congressional inaction of civil-rights measures, especially the failure to pass fair employment practices legislation. President Truman, in a letter to Conference Chairman E. Raymond Wilson, said he was hopeful that Congress "will not conclude without enacting the civil-rights program into law."

OUTSIDE AMERICA

MISREADING ITALY

In theory, Moscow's loss is automatically Washington's gain, at least in terms of a competition in gathering real and potential military strength. But it remains to be seen in practice whether Secretary Acheson was entirely justified in being enthusiastic about the bolt of two deputies and a dozen or so local hierarchs from the official Communist Party in Italy.

The point is not so much that Aldo Cucchi and Valdo Magnani have already made their willingness "to defend the country against any aggressor," including the Soviet, conditioned on what they call a spirit of "absolute neutrality," or even that they have announced their opposition to "the Atlantic Pact, the US imperialist policy and the bourgeois government of Premier de Gasperi." It is that they have created an "Action Committee for the Unity and Independence of the Workers' Movement in Italy" which may confuse and complicate rather than clarify the issues on which non-Communists must come to some working agreement.

In a country like Italy, there can be no assurance that the growth of division and disunity in official Communism will necessarily lead to an equivalent growth of unity and strength in the kind of democracy the country must have if the masses of the people are to be effectively enlisted in support of military power. One of the reasons is the effect on the present situation of a whole generation of Fascism and of a postwar period that represented no clean break with the past.

During the long period of exile or of underground activity, Italian democratic leaders, particularly the Socialists, tended to become either intellectualist or activist, and in both cases to lose sight of the need to keep in touch with, and express

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the real aspirations of, the great masses. After the war, these men who had so long, so courageously and with such cost refused to collaborate with Fascism became themselves collaborators of a new kind, or rather of two new kinds: opportunists willing to work, in the name of democracy, for non-democrats in order to occupy a position of power and prestige—Guiseppe Saragat of the PSLI, the Socialist Labor Party, is the best example; and fellow-travelers willing to work with the anti-democrats — Pietre Nenni of the PSI, the Socialist Party, is the outstanding figure.

On the other hand, the political tendencies which were developed or emphasized among the great masses of the people were a kind of rhetorical mysticism and a kind of cynical survivalism. And as Fascism was a great amorphous "movement," rather than a party, so are the two great postwar groupings—the CP, the Communist Party, and the DC, the Christian Democratic Party. In both, the proportion of survivalists is still high. In both also, there are really coalitions of Right, Center, Left subgroups, rather like parties within "regimes."

In between the CP and the DC, the potential democratic "front" is split into two halves, the PSLI and the new PSU, Socialist Unity Party, over which Giuseppe Remita has succeeded in getting control after a two year struggle. Before the Cucchi-Magnani faction entered the already crowded field of competition for Left leadership, there not only seemed a chance for some sort of fusion between the PSLI and the PSU; it also appeared possible that such a unified party might draw strength both from Nenni's PSI on the CP Right and also from the DC Left, led by Gronchi and Dossetti. These chances were improved, in regard to the PSI, by the long absence in Moscow of Palmiro Togliatti, and the effect of the relatively heavy-handed direction of the CP by Pietro Secchia and Luigi Longo.

The advent of the Cucchi-Magnani "Workers' Movement," on the other hand, may weaken these chances, if only by creating still another leftist appeal and still another threat to the nascent Socialist unification. Moreover, Cucchi, Magnani and most of their followers are middle-class intellectuals who came to the CP by way of the wartime anti-Fascist Resistance Movement; they, and the ANPI, the National Association of Italian Partisans, for which they speak, represent an activism which saw in wartime Communism the natural road to a democratic patriotism which could be at the same time national and Marxist.

What their "Workers' Movement" might have been without the immediate intervention as their self-chosen counseler of Ignazio Silone, no one can tell. But Silone, an intellectual, and a kind of romantic mystic of politics, did intervene. He had just been defeated by Romita in the struggle for leadership of the PSU; and both because he was once more politically homeless and because he is incurably idealist, in the Mazzini tradition, he rushed to help the two fellow rebels from the CP draw up a program for *the* Left party. The result may be another confirmation of the current political commonplace that anti-Communism is far too serious a matter to be left to the former Communists.

For the problem of anti-Communism, of democratic anti-Communism in Italy, cannot be solved by multiplying the number and variety of leaders; neither brilliantly intellectual individuals nor daring activism of minorities even touches the problem. The problem is basically economic. As Cardinal Schuster of Milan points out:

> The most powerful ally of international Communism is economic distress. It is useless to prepare men and arms for the eventual defense of the nation in case of war when there are left wandering the roads of Italy about two million unemployed who tomorrow will naturally join the Fifth Columns.

In the context of the Cardinal's statement, the phrase was Fifth Columns—plural. Perhaps he was not referring directly to the fact that on the Right of the DC, in the tightening alliance of reactionary Monarchists with the neo-Fascist MSI, leadership is developing for another wave of rhetorical mysticism, for another bid for mass support of an anti-democratic "movement." But the Holy See, from which the DC derives much of its own authority over the masses, recognizes that the old cynical survivalism of the Fascist period has by now become, because of the bleeding away of hope for economic and social justice, a desperate survivalism.

The Italian people will not go to battle for world democracy, bearing the crosses of unemployment and economic distress. A few intellectuals may break away from the CP, but the Party's propaganda can more than balance the effect on the Italian masses by calling attention to bitter facts. For example, despite the strictures of Leon Dayton of the Economic Co-operation Administration about the urgent need for investments in order to modernize Italy's industrial plant and eventually to cope with the medieval social structure, the DC Government holds on to its dollars and gold, of which much comes from the US, and which is three times as much as it was before the war. De Gasperi (whom General Eisenhower found the most impressive statesman in Europe) got from René Pleven (who is President Truman's favorite Frenchman) at the Santa Margherita Ligure conference nothing more gratifying for the Italian workers than a promise that a few thousand would be allowed to immigrate into France. The conference, in producing an agreement for Italo-French official co-operation within the Atlantic framework, was, of course, a loss for Moscow, hence a gain for Washington. But whether it was also a gain for dependable popular support of Atlantic policies on the part of the Italian masses is another matter.

Secretary Acheson's optimism about the possibilities presented by the Cucchi-Magnani revolt is justified only if the loss for Moscow is made a gain for the Italian people. It is too much to expect the State Department to understand, let alone help, the process of Italian democratic unification on a mass basis. But perhaps General Eisenhower, who spent his few days in Italy talking to de Gasperi (and getting to like him), might find time to stay longer on his next trip, to get around more, to talk to workers (including the unemployed) and to get to sympathize with them.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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A WORLD IN REVOLUTION

by William O. Douglas

THE WORLD is different than we in America have thought. Wendell Willkie and many other reporters who traveled the back countries told us what was happening; but we did not listen. The plain fact is that the world is in a revolution which cannot be bought off with dollars. There are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. A force is gathering for a mighty effort. We think of that force as Communistic. Communists exploit the situation, stirring every discontent and making the pot boil. The revolutions which are brewing are not, however, Communist in origin nor will they end even if Soviet Russia is crushed through war. The revolutionaries are hungry men who have been exploited from time out of mind. This is the century of their awakening and mobilization.

What I saw and heard as I traveled this vast territory that lies under the southern rim of Russia reminded me very much of what I had read about other revolutions. The spirit which motivates these people is pretty much the same as the one which inspired the French and the American Revolutions.

The abuses against which our American forebears protested in 1776 were piled high. They are listed in our Declaration of Independence: dissolution by the king of legislative bodies; corruption of judges; maintenance of a standing army and quartering of troops among the people; imposition of taxes without the consent of the colonies; transporting citizens beyond the seas for trial of offenses committed here. These and other practices of the king brought our people to a boiling point; and we declared ourselves free.

The complaints of the peasants of Asia are just as specific as those in our own Declaration of Independence; and to the people involved they are just as important. I have talked with them in many places across this wide belt and found them alive not only to their problems but to the solutions as well. These people, though illiterate, are intelligent.

The people of Asia have a catalogue of specific complaints. The absence of medical care always comes first. The absence of schools is always second. Then comes land reform. These people have a passion for land-ownership that Americans can understand. We expressed it in our homestead laws and in the great westward movement that built a nation out of the wilderness. Next comes the desire to learn how to farm the modern way. The right to vote, the right to elect representative government, the power to expel and punish corrupt officials—these too are important claims to reform. Finally, they have a new sense of nationalism. It reflects itself in many ways—the growing sentiment in some countries of the Middle East to nationalize their oil and keep the profits for themselves; the desire to have local capital a partner with foreign capital in developing the nation; an exultant feeling of independence and resentment against intermeddling by outside powers.

There are professional agitators who stir this brew of discontent; but the force comes from the masses. I have not seen a village between the Mediterranean and the Pacific that was not stirring uneasily.

American foreign policy has never been addressed to the conditions under which these revolutions flourish. Democracy, peace, aggression are important words to us; but to those in the hinterland they are apt to be hollow and meaningless. America's voice, when heard in this poverty- and disease-ridden belt, often sounds coarse and cheap—not because we intend it but because we do not know the world in which we live.

We tell about our high standard of living, how well our workers eat, the fine houses they live in, and it sounds like boasting and bragging. We send technical experts abroad to help in seed selection, soil conservation, malaria control and the like. But we never raise our voice for reforms of the vicious tenancy system of Asia under which increased production inures to the benefit of a few. We seem to forget that health programs unrelated to land-distribution projects, minimum wages, maximum hours of work and the like merely increase the number of people among whom the existing poverty must be rationed.

We talk about democracy and justice; and at the same time we support regimes whose object is to keep democracy and justice out of the reach of the peasants for all time. We put billions of dollars behind corrupt and reactionary governments which exempt the rich from income taxes and fasten the hold of an oligarchy tighter and tighter on the nation. The fact is that America has been so engrossed in providing a defense against Communism that we have lost the initiative. Our great weakness has been our negative attitude. We have been anti-

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Communist. We have been pledged to root it out and expose it for all its ugliness. We have taken up the hunt inside the country for every human being who was, is, or may be, a Communist. Yet no matter how feverish our efforts, the red tide of Communism seems to spread abroad. We are seized with panic as the waters lap at feeble dikes. So we rush to the support of every group which opposes Soviet Communism. That puts us in partnership with the corrupt and reactionary groups whose policies breed the discontent on which Soviet Communism feeds and prospers.

This negative attitude, the policy of merely defending against Communism, is one reason for our default. The other basic reason is that we have relied more and more on our military to do our thinking and planning for us. Beginning in 1945 with the fall of Japan we entrusted most of our attitude toward Asia to the Army. The military made policy for us. It is no reflection on the military to deplore that fact. The situation in Asia is delicate and complex. It requires astute handling at the political level—the best that we can muster in skill and understanding.

As a consequence of our negative attitude and military approach to problems, the tide of Soviet Communism has picked up momentum. The trend will continue; and the part of the world on which Communism has not fastened itself will become smaller and smaller as long as our policy is merely negative or dominated by military thinking. The Communists are not merely anti-status quo. They have concrete programs of political action in every country. If we are to regain the initiative, we must use our ingenuity to invent ways to aid the peasants in their revolutionary aims. We must take over the guidance and direction of these revolutions if we want a free world.

We have thought we could save the world from Communism by dollars. It is, however, ideas not dollars that count the more in this campaign. Dollars are secondary. They must be conserved until an honest, progressive government comes into power. Then they can be used in select ways to help the natives build a new economy.

America is fitted by tradition for directing and guiding the revolutions that sweep the earth. We won our freedom by revolution and set the example which today inspires the peasants of Asia. We cannot remake the world in our image; but we can help those who are seeking an escape from squalor to find alternatives to Communism. We cannot do it by talking democracy to these people. We can do it only by making our foreign policy understandable in terms of their aspirations: medical care, education, distribution of land to the peasants, modern agriculture, free elections, independence from foreign domination. If we took that stand not only in rhetoric but in action, the political implementation of the program would be relatively easy. The Philippines, already the showcase of Asia, could be transformed into a healthy, prosperous, democratic community.

India and Israel are examples of the strength and stability that democratic forces can mobilize. These nations have domestic programs that make Communism internally an empty threat. What Israel and India have done can be done elsewhere.

There are liberal forces in practically all of the Asiatic countries which can do the same. At times they are either in a minority position in the cabinet or outside the government completely. But each country has men who have the dream of a new freedom for their people, who have the character and ability to rid the nation of the feudal system that has existed from time out of mind. In other words, there is both the leadership and the energy within these countries to accomplish the necessary programs of social reconstruction.

A striking example is Persia. The present Shah has extremely liberal ideas for the reconstruction of his country, and has recently announced the sale of the royal lands to the peasants. The Persian Government, headed by Ali Razmara, has the highest degree of competence and the most liberal viewpoint in recent Persian history. His cabinet is composed of strong men with Western leanings.

Yet if some day soon the papers carry the news that Persia has swung into the Soviet orbit or has taken a position of pro-Soviet neutrality, it will not be because the Persians have embraced Communism. Communists in Persia are few and far between. The reason for such a tragedy will be that the Soviets have a program of political action which we do not match.

If we undertook to match the Soviets in a program of political action, the chances of success would be considerable. One reason is that the revolutions which sweep Asia are basically incompatible with Communism.

The people of this area are mostly God-fearing folks, while Communism is atheistic.

The people of this area want free elections and a free press; they want to be rid of gendarmes and soldiers who break up their political meetings and tell them how to vote or who close their newspapers. Communism merely substitutes one group of armed, political censors for another.

The peasants of this area (and they comprise the vast majority of the population) want to be rid of their landlords; they want to own their land—to fence it and call it theirs, to cultivate it and keep the produce for themselves and their families. The Communists merely substitute one landlord (the state) for another.

The people of this area are increasingly national-

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istic. Most of them have only recently gained their independence from foreign domination. They are now offered the first chance in centuries to develop their own culture, to fashion their own laws, to shape their own destiny. Communism is Soviet inspired and controlled. Communist satellites lack the independence the people of the Middle East crave. They do not want to be the tool of any foreign power. They know that Communism would seek to make them the tool of the Kremlin.

This is why Soviet Communism works under great handicaps in this region. It is a creed that is hard to sell; its converts are few and far between; the number of rock-bottom Communists between the Mediterranean and the Pacific is extremely low—certainly less than one-tenth of one percent. The fact that precious few people have rallied to the hammer and sickle must be discouraging to the Politburo, for it has changed its tactics. Today the Communists in the Middle East pose as an outright reform party—liberal, progressive, democratic. They espouse the causes which the elder La Follette, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt espoused here. They make revolution under slogans as staid and respected as minimum wages, price control, food rationing, reduced rents and the like. They won several countries in Eastern Europe that way. It is that way, rather than by invasion, that they hope to win the Middle East.

Communism can win by this political technique only if it has no political competition. It has been gaining in great strides because it has been operating mostly in a political vacuum. It has had little competition in the political field. We in America talk democracy, peace and justice at home. In Asia we either support the reactionaries and the corrupt forces who make democracy, peace and justice impossible; or we fail to support to the hilt our real friends such as Nehru in India and Razmara in Persia. If we persist in our present attitude, Communism will slowly spread and the free world will continually contract. Soviet Russia will continue to pick up country after country.

We cannot possibly defend with our armies the wide perimeter stretching from Japan to Cairo. We have not the men to do it. Anyone who has seen the jungles of Malaya and the swamps of Indo-China knows we could easily lose our armies in them. Soviet Russia's military strategy takes this into account. She does not plan to dissipate her own strength in that way. Behind her military strategy is a program of political action. Her aim is to get native Communists in control of every country. Then these countries will become neutral in a pro-Soviet sense or raise local armies (Korean style) to fight her battles for her. We cannot defeat those tactics by military action, for we are too small and the military theatres are too scattered. We can counter that military strategy only by a program of political action of our own.

We must be, and remain, strong as a military power in case Russia shifts from political to military action. But meanwhile our only real defense against Communism is a political offensive, a political offensive with action rather than with rhetoric. The hour is late; but so long as world war III has not struck, it is not too late.

PROSPECTS FOR GERMAN DEMOCRACY

by Roger Baldwin

WITH ALL SIGNS pointing to the end of the civilian occupation of Germany, what are the prospects for the democratic forces there which the occupation has professedly encouraged for the last five years?

Despite the confusions and contradictions of the ever-shifting German scene, I venture to appraise it on the basis of two intensive surveys made in 1948 and 1950 throughout all Western Germany. I worked with citizens' civil-rights agencies, German officials and occupation authorities—British, French and American. I went, not as an American bearing the glad tidings of a superior democracy, but as an exponent of what should be regarded hopefully as universal principles. In view of some natural confusion in the German mind between "democratization" and "Americanization," that helped.

Among the four "D's—demilitarization, denazification, decartelization and democratization—which spelled out our ambitions for a reformed Germany, democratization now alone remains a lively American concern. Of the other three it need only be observed that they have failed.

Decartelization, largely an American trust-busting idea alien to the German passion for orderly controls, has bogged down in a passive resistance movement. Denazification flopped because of its overly ambitious inclusiveness, long delays, shifts in policies, and because of the demand for skilled personnel at any price. Since four out of five adult Germans were "implicated" in some degree, denazification in the sense of denying ex-Nazis public jobs became a farce. Demilitarization, no longer mentioned, succeeded in banning the legal pos-

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session of shotguns by German hunters right through last fall's hunting season.

With little talk now of these other three "D's," democratization still survives in the efforts of a sizable part of the 1,500 US civilian personnel. Even against a background of frustration over five years, they doggedly persist in trying to reorient the Germans, from the grass roots up to Chancellor Adenauer. Nor have we diminished our enthusiasm for it in the face of the obvious contradiction between democracy and rearmament under any likely German set-up. No American has yet admitted the dangers which practically every German liberal understands.

The number one job of our resident officers, of whom there is one in every German county, is still reorientation. This means efforts to instill democratic ideas by organized discussions in forums and town meetings. It means aiding the organization of citizen agencies and giving not always welcome advice to public officials. The British and French have resident officers, too, but their functions differ. They mainly report developments in their districts, handle complaints and act as trouble-shooting agencies, attempting to keep the peace between Germans and allied armed forces.

But we Americans are moved by the missionary spirit. Self-confidence in our democratic superiority, justified indeed at many points, rises above a recognition of what Germans take pleasure in pointing out as our sins. I mean our policy of racial discrimination, flagrantly obvious to the Germans in the segregation of Negro troops, and such well-advertised repressive measures as the McCarran law, about which German audiences repeatedly twitted me.

One recent public-opinion poll showed a majority of Germans favorable to the proposition that they could learn something useful from American democracy. But the same majority held that the Americans could also learn something useful from the Germans. Indeed, the frustration of five years, as expressed by a recent assembly of our resident officers, should have "reoriented" us. That it has not is due not only to our crusaders' zeal, but to the fixed notions of an occupation. General MacArthur once observed that occupations tend after a few years to defeat their own purposes by becoming settled bureaucracies. The underlying ideas with which we tackled the Germans have not changed despite the evidence that if they were ever applicable, they no longer work today.

One of the most compelling of these ideas is that the greatest danger to be avoided in Western Germany's democratization is centralization of power. Bismarck co-ordinated a loosely federated nation. Hitler tightened the grip of centralized power. Therefore, the occupation has held, we must resist all centralizing forces. The shades of Morgenthauism still hang about, fortified by traditional French fears of an aggressive Germany. So Germany has become a strongly decentralized country, with local loyalties stronger than national loyalties. Yet it confronts in Eastern Germany a highly centralized police state. What is obviously needed to create a strong Western democratic state capable of overcoming the East Zone police state, in shaping the ultimate unity of Germany, is a network of active national citizens' agencies expressing the continuing will of the people.

These agencies are the source of democratic power in the United States and other countries of the free world. But the occupation, split into three zones, does not encourage any such development. Instead there are zonal approaches to democracy, each in the image of home models. Co-ordination exists only at the top on major policies affecting the Bonn Government and industry. Down below to the grass roots in each zone, each occupying power follows its own concepts of democratic emphasis.

The result is that national democratic organizations are either weak or non-existent. Outside the political parties, the trade unions and the churches, not a single strong national citizens' agency exists in Western Germany. Until two years ago, when the Western state was established, no organization could function without an occupation license confined to a zone or even a single "Land." Not even the Boy Scouts were permitted a national organization. Recovery from such restraints is slow even under the present complete freedom to organize, clouded of course by the uncertainties of allied policies and the darkness in the East.

It is not to be denied that the occupation authorities have a case in frowning on the traditional autocratic German organization run from the top down. But that does not justify exclusive attention to the grass roots. National organizations controlled by their locals, as in the United States and elsewhere in free countries, are needed, and with encouragement, a sizable minority of Germans are capable of genuinely democratic organization, as the experience of the new German Civil Liberties Union and other agencies has proved.

The growth of these citizens' organizations confronts, of course, formidable obstacles in a country whose traditional patterns are complicated by the confusions of division, occupation and fear of the East. Old patterns are reinforced by retreat to the safe and the familiar. Leadership gravitates to the old men of Weimar days and before, to "government by septuagenarians" as one observer indelicately remarked. Business is run by the men who ran it under Hitler and before Hitler.

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No revolutionary changes have altered the old order. No land reform has distributed an acre to landless tenants in feudal Bavaria. Every effort of the trade unions to increase their power in industry was vetoed by the occupation up to 1950. Economic recovery was entrusted to big business. Where the Socialists and the unions could have been encouraged as the most stalwart opponents of both the Communists and the Nazis and furnished a part of the needed leadership in recovery, the occupation turned rather to the conservative exponents of free enterprise—and, I may add, cartels. The unions, a powerful machine with a democratic potential beyond trade-union interests, have only begun to play a role in the larger public arena.

It is, of course, maintained, and with some reason, that recovery in Germany was imperative, even at the price of reforms. But in Japan we have witnessed both recovery and reform under occupation. There the occupation promptly distributed land to those who worked it, abolishing feudal landlordism. It encouraged the unions. It broke up the great family trusts. It denationalized and thus liberalized education. It brought to the fore new popular forces. Such a development was obviously easier in Japan with a single occupying power, a united and more responsive people, and with a continuing government. The Germans, as one authority remarked to me, had nothing in common after defeat and unconditional surrender but their language. Yet in the fluid years after the war, as the Social Democratic Party has observed, there could have been, with different occupation objectives, a genuine revolution as in Japan to establish a lasting basis for democracy.

However discouraging are the failures of the occupation in its approaches to German democracy, the Germans have at least had the doors opened wide to a world that was denied them under the Third Reich. Hundreds of students have gone abroad, aided by occupation funds. Hundreds of officials, leaders in public life, have been sent to the United States, Britain and neighboring countries to learn new methods. Visiting experts by the boat-load have counseled the Germans, and ties have been resumed with private agencies abroad. The flow of new contacts adds up to an intangible but promising internationalism, which serves as an antidote to the poisons of the old nationalism. Everywhere in Germany, any observer will note the evidences of a profound interest, especially and most hopefully among the otherwise apathetic youth, in all internationalist goals from European Union to the United Nations. Of course it is accompanied by a deep sentiment for a united Germany, East and West, but there is no audible spirit of *Deutschland ueber Alles.*

The growing independence of spirit in Western Germany, the irritations with the occupation, are marks not of traditional nationalism but of a restored self-confidence. The time has come, as it must, when the feeling is natural that the civilian occupation should go. Events are moving more swiftly than any preparations for dismantling the occupation. Instead of withdrawing it slowly from the grass roots, as we have been doing in Japan, the entire civilian machine—British, French and American—remains in structure as it was. The prospects are that it will be withdrawn all in a piece, leaving, however, presumably increasing allied forces as security rather than occupation troops. Democratization, so far as the occupation roles go, will be still an experiment largely at the grass roots.

But out of the ferment of these occupation years, a hard core of Germans may have been inspired to genuine democratic activity and "civil courage" in standing up for their rights to which every German pays the tribute of lip-service. These Germans may succeed in transforming the old patterns of obedience before civil rights and order before liberty. Even under the inevitable discouragements of confusion and instability of Western Germany, I found enough such Germans in public office and private life to justify optimism. It is a fairly safe prophecy that the future of democracy in Germany depends on its integration in European and international institutions as an equal and, therefore, on the prospects of the whole democratic world. But that integration can assure democratic power within Germany only as the Germans themselves through their popular forces—their newspapers, unions, political parties, churches and citizen agencies—achieve against all tradition a continuing mastery over their Government.

On that prospect any observer can pick up among authoritative Germans the most contradictory views. One German spoke to me of his country as a "nightmare, a prison in which only occupation pressures are capable of sustaining democratic forces." Another equally competent observer, encouraged by the signs of independent, new movements, thought the occupation now only an irritation and a hindrance.

With my distaste for occupation and my affinity for the occupied, I would conclude that since all democracy grows from within, the Germans will at least do no worse without us. If rearmament escapes militarism, if East-West tensions get no more threatening, if the economy holds up without ungovernable inflation or a great burden of unemployed and depressed wages, if 10 million expellees from the East can be absorbed—big ifs—the chances for a growing German democracy are not without reasonable hope.

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CATHOLICS AND SEX EDUCATION

by Anna W. M. Wolf

WITHIN RECENT weeks high Catholic prelates have pronounced officially against any program of sex education in the schools. This puts the church on record as opposing in principle any attempts on the part of educators to help young people with a persistent human problem—a problem to which the special conditions of modern life have added unparalleled complexities. In the localities where it is strong, the church is in a position to stir up a hornet's nest where school boards deviate from this line. Fully aware of its political power, the Catholic clergy will not hesitate to use it.

The church's position is based on the conviction that enlightenment in sexual matters and the guidance of youth toward a wholesome sexual development properly belongs in the home and that only the parent, and especially the Catholic mother directed by her priest, is in a position to handle such a delicate matter. The church believes that Christian insight and pronouncement on sexual life now, as always, provide the surest guides. It tends to view with alarm other sources of insight, especially those of psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Although there will be some differences of opinion within the ranks of Catholics, there is a prevailing tendency to regard these and other scientific approaches to the problems of human conduct as materialistic, often immoral and at best insufficient.

What is to be said for the Catholic view? In a world threatened with chaos, there is no doubt that the church is striving on all fronts and with utmost zeal to promote the strength of the family as the surest bulwark for both the individual and society. Traditionally, as well as today, it has stood firm for the position that responsibility for the character development of youth must rest on parental shoulders, that sex life is one aspect of character and as such has moral and spiritual implications. So far, few would disagree.

Through the child's experiences with parents before school years begin, the groundwork is laid for all that is most crucial. This is nowhere truer than with sex development. Over the course of his whole life, what he will most deeply feel about his body and the problems it presents to his emerging conscience is determined not alone by what he is *told* but by his early perceptions of his parents' unspoken attitudes and the kind of training imposed by them in the nursery.

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But important as these beginnings are, they are not all. The time comes when healthy maturing brings with it the need to turn away from the close family ties of the early years. The focus of both the school-age child and the adolescent youngster is on the good opinion of his peers; he compares and measures his parents' standards with those he encounters in the outside world. When he becomes critical, even rebellious, against home ties and against parents, it is not because he is really ready to reject them and go his own way. On the contrary, it is just because he is chafing against his own dependence that he forces himself to a series of trial balloons.

This is the time of life when people other than his parents are in a strategic position to help him. He will be fortunate if he can find seasoned wisdom in teachers or other grown-ups who know and appreciate young people and their problems, yet who at the same time satisfy their wish *not* to turn back to parents. This altogether legitimate adolescent need is exactly what the school, if it were equipped, might provide. Nobody in his senses would go all out to substitute teachers for parents as the proper guides of youth. But most thoughtful parents would hope for teachers with the capacity to support and extend the ideals for which their homes are striving, recognizing the importance of their supplementary role. Such a course does not lessen parental responsibility. On the contrary, where schools have seen their opportunity and grasped it, parent interest has been keen, and parent approval has been nearly unanimous.

Sex education, where it is at its best in the schools today, offers a learning experience for young people quite different from what many of us remember in our own youth as inadequate and for the most part ridiculous. Gone are the days of the "smut sessions," when a lecture or so on human reproduction (with lantern-slide diagrams of male and female organs) accompanied by horrendous threats of venereal disease—the wages of sin—were considered sufficient preparation for marriage. Though physiology, nature study and hygiene classes are still among the appropriate places to learn about and discuss these things, such a factual approach barely touches the real problems of high-school youngsters.

Teen-agers, once we get beneath the surface, are troubled by self-doubt, vexed by the riddle of their instincts. Will they be attractive to the opposite sex? Will they have the courage to win love? Who is right—their parents who preach restraint or the popular guy and

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big shot who taunts them to go ahead? What is the meaning of the strange behavior of the opposite sex to which, left to themselves, they have hardly a clue? Are they normal in their bodily development? Are their physical desires—or lack of them—right or wrong? Why do their parents never seem to understand?

Even worse, when their parents are the sympathetic kind who do understand, why is it that they find themselves unwilling to confide in them, and somehow jangle out of tune almost as surely as if their parents were their sworn enemies? In a world where everyone is pressing them to concentrate on intellectual pursuits and plans for careers, they themselves are preoccupied with day dreams. Who can help them with this fearful dilemma—the necessity, on the one hand, for achieving concrete success in a hard world and, on the other, the urgency for satisfaction in their intimate emotional lives?

Family-life education, where it is operating as part of the planned program of some American high schools, is already, I believe, offering some promising beginnings for meeting these needs of young people. For example, in the lower grades of some schools, both boys and girls are given a chance to observe small children in nursery groups, to study their needs both in their homes and out. As they progress through high school, they study and discuss in special sociology or psychology classes the variety of feelings that go into the making of successful human relations, parent-child relations, youth relations, sex relations, group relations. They become conscious of the fateful choices that lie ahead of them and consider the motives that will be brought into play. With a suitably trained teacher, they air their gripes and their opinions—they discuss right and wrong.

As they develop ideas about what goes into the making of a happy family, they are led to consider what they themselves are looking for in the choice of a husband or wife. This leads to greater thoughtfulness about their own immediate problems in connection with dating, petting, popularity, going steady and the whole gamut of American folkways.

One of the most valid objections to sex education in schools is that teachers are often woefully unfit for the job. Of course, exactly the same objection could with equal justice be brought against parents. They, too, often lack the knowledge, the special insight and the wide experience of youth that are needed.

Is it not one of the prime necessities that teachers should know where to turn for help when a youngster gets into sexual difficulties just as surely as they should know where to find professional help for their physical ailments? Is it not even more important that schools should understand the part they might play in preventing these difficulties? Such teacher training is certainly a necessary condition to any effective sex-education program in the schools, and where this condition is fulfilled, there is ample proof that the program has value and that it is safeguarded against dangers.

Leaders of such programs need knowledge; they also need to know the limits of their knowledge. For in any aggregation of young people there will always be those in need of individual counseling and special help.

It is hard, at first sight, to see why the church should set itself in opposition to an undertaking clearly designed to strengthen family life and prepare youth in advance for responsibilities to come. The reason, I believe, for the opposition lies in the word "secular." The church appears to be setting itself against the whole idea of moral education in secular hands.

To many churchmen, and this is true of Protestant as well as Catholic, "secular" has already become almost anathema—the tag or banner of the hosts of the Godless against whom they are fighting. This, in America, is a sad development. For secularism has its own very real spiritual values and, properly understood, should be accorded an honorable place in our society by sincere church members as well as skeptics. In public education, secularism should stand forth to all of us as one of the indispensable guarantees of religious freedom. Instead of schools delivered over body and soul to whichever sect maneuvers most successfully for power, instead of schools which have become the battleground for contending groups and factions, secularism preserves our schools as the meeting place for people of varying traditions and varying faiths in a spirit of free inquiry, mutual tolerance and appreciation.

To the Catholic Church this atmosphere of free inquiry is fundamentally antipathetic. It is bound to be so since the church claims that there is but one truth and that this truth has been confided to its exclusive care. It is not surprising that it should shrink from exposing young people in the formative years to other influences.

That is why the church today is energetically seeking to strengthen its own religious schools by every means at hand, to draw Catholic youth out of public schools and into parochial and never at any point to give ground to the secular opposition. That is why we have had the school-bus case, the demand for public funds for lunches and for non-religious textbooks in parochial schools and why, more recently, we have the fight for "released time" for religious education.

That is why the time is ripe for Americans of all faiths to decide where they will stand in this conflict—for what is really at stake is secularism itself. The battle of sex education is merely one skirmish in a campaign destined to have far-reaching consequences.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *MacArthur Is Always Right*

WHEN Gen. Douglas MacArthur does not make the newspapers with some feat of arms, he is not averse to interviewing himself publicly or oraculating to the people in complete complacency. Another outstanding characteristic of the General seems to be that, even when he is, in fact, retreating, he is advancing, no matter how the movement may look when followed on the map. Recently, in an interview that he graciously granted to the war correspondents in Tokyo whom he had not yet cashiered, he explained what should have been obvious to the merest non-military tyro. According to a headline in the New York *Herald Tribune* the next day, he was persuasively making the foe lengthen his supply line. He was doing this by the clever expedient of withdrawing, in what had the appearance of urgency, all along the line. Mark you, this was not a retreat, although it was, at times, costly in terms of UN manpower.

It was MacArthur who forced the enemy to stretch out his supply line, which is something quite different from the foe doing his best to drive the UN Army to the sea coast or even into the sea itself. MacArthur was happy to explain to his interviewers why he was maneuvering so craftily: "The importance of a supply system has been understood by every general in every important campaign in history [sic!]," he said, thus unfolding what theretofore had been a military and historical secret of the utmost importance. Indeed it requires a general as well as a raw recruit to "understand" so complicated a fact! (Who was it who said that "an army marches on its stomach?") MacArthur continued: "Now our strategy is based, in the face of the great Chinese hordes, on forcing the enemy to lengthen his supply line in the areas where we can attack it. . . ."

Only the cynical will remember that, when the Communists were open to attack as far north as the Yalu River, MacArthur did attack with all of the force that he possessed. The UN forces, according to some, were superior in numbers and equipment to the Chinese. MacArthur undertook a battle to end the Korean War and get the soldiers home for Christmas. When his troops gave way instead and began a strategic retreat that did not end until the Allies had lost Seoul, many of those who could follow the war only through the newspapers, which always paid particular attention to the sententious utterances of MacArthur, were stupid enough to believe that the UN Army had found it necessary to retreat before the Chinese. We were doubly glad subsequently to be assured that this was not the case. The apparent retreat was merely a devilishly clever ruse to entice the Chinese within reach of our arms. It was the highest order of strategy to retreat almost the whole length of Korea to accomplish our objective.

Yet there is something that I cannot understand. I, for one, would like the great MacArthur to explain why the American armies which fell back so precipitously under MacArthur are now advancing so gallantly and victoriously under Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway. If the best way to win in Korea was to retreat, in order to lengthen the Chinese line, as MacArthur puts it, why, as the Supreme Commander of the UN forces in the Far East, has he not ordered General Ridgway to continue a tactic that was proving so successful so far as lengthening the Chinese line was concerned? Cannot General Ridgway be made to understand "the importance of a supply system" as MacArthur "understood" it?

Nor is this the only question that puzzles me with respect to our relations with the Chinese. An item in the newspapers recently announced the appointment of William D. Pawley as a special assistant to Secretary Acheson with the rank of Ambassador. It was said that Mr. Pawley, who was the choice of the late Robert E. Hannegan for Ambassador to Brazil, was in a particularly favorable position to encourage the Chinese guerillas on the mainland to harrass the Mao Tse-tung Government. And a few days later, according to the New York *Times*, Vice Admiral Arthur D. Strubel, Commander of the US Seventh Fleet, paid a "courtesy" call on "President" Chiang Kai-shek. "Every man a 'President'!"

The people of the United States had no chance to express themselves on the policy: (a) of going to the support of the weak and corrupt South Korean Government; (b) of crossing the 38th Parallel; (c) or even on what we should do now that we are again approaching that Parallel—if we have not already crossed it before this is printed.

Just what will be the duties of the estimable Mr. Pawley? Just why did Admiral Strubel so ostentatiously visit Formosa to do his obeisance before Chiang Kai-shek and perhaps follow the precedent set by General MacArthur in kissing the gloved hand of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek? Are we preparing to get into a naval or land war with China by way of the alley entrance of Formosa? Does our State Department know the answer to any of these questions and, if it does, how about taking the people into its confidence for once before, not after, the event?

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

EDNA MILLAY AND HER TIME

by Mary M. Colum

IN THE nineteen twenties Edna St. Vincent Millay was America's sweetheart. It was one of the rare periods when poetry, and especially lyrical poetry, was considered important. Now the fact is that this country has seldom been enthusiastic about lyrical poetry, and this largely explains the attitude to Edgar Allan Poe and to that troubadour, Vachel Lindsay. In a favored poet—Robert Frost—what gives him authority is not his lyrical but his narrative and meditative poetry. But Edna Millay struck a mood in American life when lyricism was being welcomed as something strange and moving. Then, what was called her philosophy roused to excitement not only the young men and women but their elders, too. Said philosophy was simply an attitude to life made familiar throughout the ages by the men poets—Herrick's "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may," Horace's "Carpe Diem," Catullus' "Vivamus mea Lesbia. . . . Give me a thousand kisses, then another thousand. . . . For when our brief life ends there is a never ending night and a never ending sleep." Edna Millay was probably the first woman in literature to back such ideas wholeheartedly, for women have been notoriously diffident in their support of hedonism. Her reputation for unconventionality caused her to be discussed by people for whom her poetic expression was not of first interest. It also caused W. B. Yeats, who was not overly impressed by her poetry, and Thomas Hardy, who was, to be excitedly interested in her personality.

When Edna Millay first began to be noticed, American women still could not smoke in restaurants or swim in such garb as the European *maillot* or without stockings to cover their legs; it was a time when people confused the regulations of *The Book of Etiquette* with the highest principles of ethics. She seemed to be the standard-bearer for the breakdown of futile conventions and of taboos. She advertised her love affairs and her sex affairs, and in her work she really made a differentiation between the two with a nicety that male poets seldom matched. Of her sex affairs:

> I find this frenzy insufficient reason
> For conversation when we meet again.

or:

> What lips my lips have kissed, and where and why
> I have forgotten, and what arms have lain
> Under my head till morning.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I only know that summer sang in me
> A little while that in me sings no more.

Then of her love:

> Women have loved before as I love now;
> At least in lively chronicles of the past,
> Of Irish waters by a Cornish prow,
> Or Trojan waters by a Spartan mast.

These unconventional emotions and ideas she expressed in that most conventional form of verse, the sonnet, which has such an attraction for American women poets. The form enticed her to go on and on, expressing the same emotions and ideas in an unceasing flow of sonnetry. Even people expert in knowing poetry by heart after a couple of readings find it difficult to distinguish one sonnet from another, though this can readily be done in the case of Elinor Wylie's love sonnets, where each reveals a distinct emotion and thought. But Elinor Wylie was a trained and disciplined artist in a sense that Edna Millay never was. She had the faculty to become an artist and a scholar, too; she never let her mind and emotions ramble as did Edna Millay.

The sort of mental and professional training that teaches poets how to say effectively what they have to say was not to be found in the New York of Millay's time. No one was there to show her, not so much the technique of writing verse, which she could learn for herself, but that higher technique of getting beyond one's private world, which would have prevented her repetitiousness. A woman admirer of hers, confusing artistic with conventional education, sent her to college after the publication of her first poems. In no country do people learn the essentials of the art of literature in colleges, but they learn even less of them in America than elsewhere. Edna Millay probably had a good time in college, but she learned little if anything of what might be useful to her as an artist. She could have learned more by staying at home and reading poetry with a few fellow writers, for as Yeats says, "There is no singing school but studying Monuments of its own magnificence." And, to put it in prose, there is this sentence of T.S. Eliot's: "It is important that the artist should be highly educated in his own art, but his education is one that is hindered rather than helped by the ordinary processes of society which constitute education for the ordinary man."

In this sense, Edna Millay, in her art, had not sufficient education to allow her to use effectively her poetic endowment, though occasionally, and especially in her earlier poems, she did so use it. This inadequacy of artistic education also injured her self-criticism: in spite of her interest in ideas, she could not cope with them in writing, and this is seen explicitly in her symposium, *Conversation at Midnight*, and her later work, *Lidice*. She plunged into translating Baudelaire, for which she was not only linguistically but temperamentally unfitted. She could talk French fluently, but she was no French scholar and got confused by genders and difficult constructions. Then she was too feminine a poet to be able to deal with such a masculine, revolutionary, powerful

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mentality as that of Baudelaire, who could make an ugliness of nature—decrepit old men and women, a corpse rotting in a ditch—into a high beauty of art. Edna Millay could only deal with the acceptedly beautiful. Death, however, did fascinate her, though in a romantic style. Most of the delighted readers of her poetry never noticed her concern in nearly every poem with death—her own personal death and her artistic death, the fear that her work might be forgotten. In "The Poet and His Book," one of her best poems, she wrote:

Down, you mongrel Death,
Back into your kennel . . .
You shall scratch and you shall whine,
Many a night, and you shall worry
Many a bone before you bury
One sweet bone of mine.
Boys and girls that lie
Whispering in the hedges,
Do not let me die. . . .

This was really the burthen of many of her poems, "Do not let me die." What aided her popularity in her heyday was her warmth of heart, her generosity, her compassion for the beaten, the downtrodden, and this not in the current way of an impersonal, generalized humanitarianism, but with a rich feeling that made her adherence a strong personal emotion. Few of her admirers realized her fundamental loneliness, her shyness, her sadness, which made her gladly leave the turmoil of New York for an isolated country house where she seldom saw anybody and where she died alone and lonely. As she has written:

Lovers and thinkers, into the earth with you.
Be one with the dull, the indiscriminate dust.
A fragment of what you felt, of what you knew,
A formula, a phrase remains—but the best is lost.

Mary M. Colum, for seven years literary editor of the "Forum," is the author of "From These Roots," a critical work, and "Life and the Dream," a volume of memoirs. She teaches a graduate class in Comparative Literature at Columbia University.

The "Americanists"

FAITH is as essential to a society of free men as it is to religion—faith not only in the institutions of freedom, but, more important, in the people for whose benefit and protection such institutions were designed. When faith is weak the very words and symbols of freedom are the most effective implements for destroying its substance.

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN, by Alan Barth (Viking; $3).

Today our freedom is being rapidly whittled away under the claim that it is being protected from the evil designs of Communism. The rule of law, without which it cannot survive, is being replaced by the rule of slander, and the end of it all, says Alan Barth, is neither security nor loyalty, but conformity with all that our "Americanists" have decreed to be so.

The Loyalty of Free Men is an account of a great nation, founded on a positive and dynamic faith but now caught in the grip of a paralyzing and destructive negativism. It is an account of Americans with little faith in retreat before "Americanists" with no scruples. Many will take comfort from the courage of Barth's book and will privately applaud it. Fewer will applaud it publicly. For the expression of independent thought has now become blasphemy, and the taint of guilt is attached by sympathetic association. Barth even challenges the doctrine of the infallibility of the FBI—heresy indeed.

Barth fully realizes our real danger from spies, saboteurs and other disloyal persons in this period of international tension, but he rejects standards of safety which equate intellectual servility with loyalty and seek security through suspicion. He refuses to protect his standing as a civil libertarian by timid suggestions that the procedures of the modern Inquisition into the minds of American citizens might be handled with greater delicacy. Logic and integrity lead him to the conclusion that there can be no decent procedures for doing an indecent thing. "This," says Barth, "is the era of the apostate. The Committee on Un-American Activities has elevated him to the status of a national hero and has transferred his role into a profession." The renegade Communist, the informer and the gossip are becoming the men and women of distinction and power. No one can be certain that he will not become the victim of their envy, hate or hunger for acclaim.

In his Foreword, Zechariah Chafee Jr. contends that the greatest danger to the United States today is not from Communists or from Fascists ("Americanists" is Barth's word for the American variety) but from "stuffed shirts." He has a point, but the characterization is—perhaps—unduly harsh. It is the exceptional official who can dissociate his own importance from that of the position he holds. An attack on him is likely to damage his department or institution, or the program for which he is responsible. If the attack were successful, his power might pass into the hands of a less worthy person who would use it for evil ends. It is therefore best to avoid giving offense to the political ruffians, or the wrong impression to the voters, or to those who control the pursestrings. Such rationalization has logic and is easy to fall into, but the cumulative effect is a collapse of principle. This is the most frightening aspect of the present political scene.

We may well ask whether the clear and present danger to our freedom lies in the "Americanists" or in respectable people in high places whose bowels turn to water at the thought their own linen might be splattered by the slanders which the "Americanists" are so recklessly hurling. Does it lie in the sponsors of such viciously repressive legislation as McCarran's anti-subversive law, or rather with the Senators and Representatives who voted for it against their consciences lest the voters back home get the wrong impression? Does it lie with the professional blackmailers and blacklisters, or with those in control of our movie corporations and radio networks who speak brave words about free

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speech and artistic freedom, but can imagine no greater calamity to the nation than a temporary decline in their own revenues.

The recklessness of Senator McCarthy with the reputations of better men is an ugly sight, but we can draw little courage from the spectacle of our Department of State scurrying frantically to obtain the signatures of Secretaries of State—past and present—to a statement that its Chinese policy has not been influenced in the slightest degree by the writings of Owen Lattimore, one of our foremost students of Chinese affairs. The magnificent veto message on the McCarran law becomes less convincing when we remember that the President who signed it also signed the Executive Order setting up the Loyalty Program.

Barth calls upon us to return to the faith of our Fathers. Freedom is far more than a pleasant luxury. It is the source of our national strength. Free men will be the best defenders of their country because they have a stake worth defending. CLIFFORD J. DURR

Clifford J. Durr is a lawyer who served with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from 1933 to 1941 and as a member of the Federal Communications Commission from 1941 to 1948.

JAMES I: HIS PLAY

THE ROYAL PLAY OF MACBETH, by Henry N. Paul (Macmillan; $6).

MORE THAN seventy years ago "a very small boy," turning over the pages of Knight's *Pictorial Shakespeare*, was suddenly arrested, Henry N. Paul tells us, by one of the illustrations, which showed the air of Scotland full of portents; clouds obscuring the sun, little owls chasing mighty falcons, wild horses madly biting each other. "Powerfully moved," he has never since been able to stop reading the play in question, or to read it without "creeps and duckskin." "Creeps" makes a good beginning for the understanding of "Macbeth"; and all students of the play will be grateful to the man, once that child, for the fuller understanding which his lifetime of reading has brought to them. They will not forget either that the book containing his commentary is a parergon, pondered and written during the few moments of leisure a busy lawyer from Philadelphia can find in a day's work.

"Shakespeare's plays mean what they meant when he wrote them"—such is Mr. Paul's general thesis; not perhaps the last word in appreciation or criticism, but certainly the first word in scholarship. And with "Macbeth" it is almost a case of what it meant to one man; for, as has long been recognized, the play was in some sense James I's own, written, that is, if not at his command, at any rate with his particular preoccupations in mind. Mr. Paul has not only succeeded, by means of a close study of the King's published works and of the events of his time, in converting this vague realization into indisputable fact, but can lay his finger upon a large number of passages in the play reflecting James's notions and circumstances.

The outstanding event at court in the summer of 1606, for instance, was the visit of the Queen's brother, Christian IV of Denmark, which lasted from July 17 to August 11. From contemporary accounts of this visit Mr. Paul proves that a brief passage (Act IV; scene 3; lines 97-100), recently claimed by another scholar as an addition to the existing MS, actually alludes to an unpleasant incident in the streets of London, as the two kings processed through them on July 21; and this, by the way, makes it virtually certain that the play was given a court performance almost immediately afterwards. To the same visit is attributed, I do not doubt correctly, the fact that Macbeth's third campaign before encountering the Weird Sisters, as recorded by Holinshed, is suppressed by Shakespeare in his second scene, since it culminated in a resounding victory over Canute, King of Denmark.

Mr. Paul is probably right too in believing that in changing the name of the rebel chief of the Western Isles in the same scene from Holinshed's "Macdowald" to "Macdonwald," Shakespeare was influenced by the trouble James was having in 1605 with another chieftain from that part of Scotland, Angus Macdonald. But the great event of 1605 was of course the Gunpowder Plot; and upon this Mr. Paul has much to say no less interesting, if less persuasive, than upon the next year's happenings; his prettiest find perhaps being that which relates the sympathetic description (Act IV; scene 3; lines 1-11) of the traitor Cawdor's conduct with the similar bearing on the scaffold of Sir Everard Digby, an attractive young man who had allowed himself to get mixed up in the plot although James had shown him special favors a year earlier. And so one might go on; for to anyone interested in the contemporary background to "Macbeth" here is "God's plenty."

Not that I subscribe to all Mr. Paul's "discoveries," still less to some of his general conclusions. Like most men hot upon a trail, he is given at times to cry "eureka" over a mare's-nest. I think also he is too much inclined to imagine Shakespeare working out dramatic theses set him by his master, whereas what he surely did was to avail himself of the demonological and other notions of King James, notions after all shared by

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most persons in the seventeenth century, in order to intensify the chiaroscuro of a tragedy, in the creation of which he resolved to eclipse Seneca. In any case, such is the art of "Macbeth" that the more it bid for the attention of "the judicious" of an age the more it succeeded in winning the applause of "the generality" of all time. But my chief criticism of Mr. Paul's book is that it did not appear five years earlier; for had it done so this critic might have plundered it freely for an edition of the play published in 1947. J. DOVER WILSON

J. Dover Wilson is the author, among other books, of "The Essential Shakespeare," "The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet" and "The Fortunes of Falstaff."

THE GREAT VIRGINIAN

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume 2: January 1777 to June 1779. Julian P. Boyd, Editor; Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editors (Princeton University Press; $10).

THE SECOND VOLUME of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* confirms the expectations formed on reading the first—that the Princeton project to present the complete papers of America's leading philosopher-statesman will be the greatest editorial venture of our times. The first volume created the indelible image of Jefferson as the enlightened liberal and author of the Declaration of Independence; this one establishes him as a brilliant lawmaker who was chiefly responsible for the monumental Report on the Revisal of the Laws of Virginia.

More than half of the book is devoted to the presentation of the 126 bills which form the Report and which were designed to mold the old British monarchical laws into a thoroughly republican system. Commentary on the background and text of this Report is provided by the editors in a distinguished 20-page analysis which they characteristically and modestly call "an editorial note." No one who studies Jefferson's Report and the accompanying comment will thereafter regard this profound democratic theoretician as no more than an inspired phrase-maker or gifted political leader. The serious yet brilliant legislation embodied in the Revisal must weigh heavily in any appraisal of Jefferson's role as a founding father of American democratic ideology. The fact that Jefferson himself considered a section of this Report, his historic Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, as one of the three most memorable acts of his life, demonstrates that this body of proposed legislation is an integral part of his work in the cause of free society.

In addition, Volume II offers fresh material on Jefferson as a man of broad humane and philosophic interests. We catch glimpses of his many activities: as an amateur of science, corresponding with the learned in Europe; as an innovator of agriculture as well as an enthusiastic farmer; as a cultivated and indefatigable book-collector. We also find here the letters which open up the incomparable exchange between the gracious Jefferson and the salty John Adams, a spirited correspondence that places these two great American philosopher-statesmen among the foremost letter-writers of the modern world.

The appearance of this volume, especially as part of a long-range, continuing publication, is pointedly relevant to the dangerous situation in which this nation presently finds itself. The ideals and institutions of free democratic society are threatened by the most omnivorous tyrannical power in the history of the world. Solid proof of the conviction, passion and labor that went into the creation of the American experiment in democracy can only strengthen the resolve of all free nations to safeguard what Jefferson thoughtfully called an "Empire for Liberty." ADRIENNE KOCH

Adrienne Koch is the author of "Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration."

GENETICS OF LIBERALISM

FROM WEALTH TO WELFARE, by Harry K. Girvetz (Stanford University Press; $5).

THE MANY WAYS in which the word "liberal" is employed no doubt explains a good deal of present-day confusion in social science. When Hayek, Laski, Lippmann and Keynes can each assert his personal variety of liberalism it seems time to clarify meanings. Harry K. Girvetz, a professor of philosophy, does perform a worthwhile service in this respect by setting forth simply and plainly the significant historical changes that have altered the content of liberal doctrine. Unfortunately, his style is so dry that one suspects his book to be but a compilation of amplified lecture notes.

The first part of the volume is a useful summary of what the author calls classical liberalism, the doctrine of the eighteenth century. Here hedonism and the Economic Man are discussed together with their terrifying nineteenth-century offspring, social Darwinism. It was the latter theory that sought to justify property and man's inhumanity to man in an industrial age. But Girvetz misses his opportunity here: his discussion is much too detached and entirely devoid of a truly imaginative treatment.

Liberalism, he says, has always meant a protest against established social practice. This was true in the eighteenth century and it is true, he argues, for the contemporary world. Yet it is those who, like Hayek and Mises, insist that eighteenth-century liberalism produced immortal truths who are our present-day conservatives; modern liberals acknowledge the inevitability of change. Liberalism today involves what was once unthinkable—increasing governmental participation in human affairs. It is this shift in emphasis that we must understand, says the author, if we are to grasp the nature of modern liberal doctrine.

The positive program for today's liberals that he offers is a compound of Beveridge, Keynes and Hansen, with Britain and Scandinavia set up as suitable models. This is of course an acceptable platform and one to which most liberals would adhere. But the author overlooks the major conditioning factor *today*—namely, international affairs. To talk about urban housing without considering what is happening in Asia must sound like the realism of *Alice in Wonderland*.

The lack of a realistic framework is emphasized by the quasi-Marxian view that economic forces predominate. That

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this approach must be inadequate is underscored by the history of the last 30 years. In the nineteenth century economics was supreme, but in the twentieth it gives way to politics. And surely it is the political question to which modern liberals need to address themselves.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

MUSIC: New Old Records

HAVING WITHDRAWN from circulation the larger number of the items in its vast historical library, RCA Victor offers a slight compensation in a series of long-playing records called "A Treasury of Immortal Performances." Five of these 45-minute anthologies have been released—three of vocal music and two of instrumental. Some of the pieces sound better in their present form than on the ancient 78-r.p.m. discs from which they were taken, for the technicians have developed a way of dubbing in orchestra and piano accompaniments to strengthen and modernize the tinkly sound of the originals, without drowning out the soloists.

But such a smorgasbord eliminates personal choice and the official selections inevitably seem arbitrary. Moreover, they do not always represent either the taste or the technique of the artists in the most flattering light. Sometimes they are myopic, as in the case of Fritz Kreisler, the finest Schubert interpreter of the twentieth century, who is represented by three trifling chestnuts of his own composition. Sometimes they seem cynical, as when Paderewski is permitted to reveal his ineptitude with Debussy in a wooden performance of "Reflets dans l'Eau." Sometimes they are merely dull, like Emma Calvé's record of the Habañera from "Carmen."

The best of the five records is the one devoted wholly to Caruso's operatic arias. Despite the inclusion of a couple of his most infelicitous performances (from Bizet's "The Pearl Fishers" and "Carmen"), the ten arias brought together here recapture the rich beauty of a better tenor voice than any to be heard today, and they trace Caruso's development from a "Rigoletto" lyric tenor into a notable interpreter of so serious and profound a character as Eléazar in Halévy's "La Juive." The aria "Rachel, quand du Seigneur," from "La Juive," touched with a dark melancholy and a quality of philosophic repose, is alone worth the price of the disc.

"The Golden Age at the Metropolitan" brings back such memorable achievements as Rosa Ponselle's "Ernani involami," from Verdi's "Ernani," sung in the grand manner with wonderful, flamboyant coloratura; Luisa Tettrazini's supremely agile account of the skittering cabaletta "Ah! non giunge," from Bellini's "La Sonnambula"; Titta Ruffo's declamation of the juicy baritone soliloquy "Nemico della Patria," from Giordano's "Andrea Chénier," a blood-and-thunder French revolutionary melodrama that has not been worth giving since the Metropolitan ceased to have any Ponselles, Giglis and Ruffos; the French bass Marcel Journet's touching singing of the Berceuse in the last act of Charpentier's "Louise"; and Amelita Galli-Curci's gracious and faultless delivery of the familiar "Caro Nome," from Verdi's "Rigoletto." Lucrezia Bori's "Mi chiamano Mimí," from "La Bohème," and Geraldine Farrar's "Vissi d'arte," from "Tosca," though closely associated with the singers, struck me as less fortunate choices than some of their other records would have been. Elisabeth Rethberg's "O patria mia," from "Aida," given in a cut version, is a libel of one of the loveliest voices of the twenties; and Tito Schipa's "Dalla sua pace," from "Don Giovanni," merely proves that Donizetti rather than Mozart was Schipa's *forte*.

The record devoted to Wagner excerpts is more uniform artistically; but even the dubbed-in orchestra is inadequate, and, anyway, Wagner excerpts are usually unsatisfactory because they do not really begin and end. But several of Friedrich Schorr's high moments from "Die Meistersinger" and "The Flying Dutchman" are preserved, along with striking bits by Frida Leider, Lotte Lehmann, Johanna Gadski and Ernestine Schumann-Heink; and justice is done to Rethberg by the inclusion of her thrice-beautiful "Dich, teure Halle," from "Tannhauser."

Six players are granted membership in the club called "Genius at the Keyboard." One, Albert Schweitzer, is an organist, playing Bach's "little" E minor Prelude and Fugue on the organ of Queen's Hall—an instrument of historic interest, since the building was destroyed in the bombing of London. The others are all pianists. Paderewski plays—in addition to the misguided Debussy piece—Chopin's "Black Keys" Etude, the first movement of Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata and his own mannered Minuet in G. Sergei Rachmaninov delivers his own Prelude in C sharp minor with a conviction that is disarming, and also plays one of his own Etudes Tableaux and a Schubert impromptu. Serge Prokofiev scotches the impression that he

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always went after the piano like a battering-ram, for he employs a wide range of touch and color in four of his Visions Fugitives. Vladimir de Pachmann and Moriz Rosenthal, in their disparate and highly personal ways, make a good case for a late-nineteenth-century view of Chopin playing. For those who can listen beyond the feeble recording of the instrument, this collection offers interesting case material for the comparative study of interpretation today and one or two generations ago.

"Magic Strings" is mostly mish-mash. Apparently RCA Victor thinks that the admirers of Pablo Casals, Kreisler, Mischa Elman and Andrés Segovia can take little in the way of musical substance. Casals plays "The Swan" and two Bach transcriptions beautifully; Elman makes brilliant noises in Sarasate's "Zigeunerweisen" and caresses Schumann's "Traumerei"; Kreisler is nothing if not lilting in his own little pieces; and Segovia shows off the guitar to advantage in Tarrega's empty Tremolo Study.

A revival of a different sort is an enchanting recording of seventeenth-century dramatic music by Claudio Monteverdi, made by a group of experts in Basle, Switzerland, and released here by Concert Hall Society. "Tirsi e Clori," a *ballo concertante* (combination of dancing and singing), is a pastoral piece in which two soloists, a chorus, and an archaic orchestra set forth music that is alternately discreetly amorous and bouncing and lively. The other side of the record contains one of the earliest fully developed tragic operatic arias, that of Iro from "Il Ritorno d'Ulisse," and a fascinating concerto for tenor and strings, "Tempro la Cetra," both sung with expressiveness and great stylistic insight by Max Meili, a tenor known throughout Europe for his command of Renaissance and baroque music.

Now that the Glyndebourne recording is no longer available, the new recording of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" issued by the Haydn Society fills an important gap. Made in Vienna last November, it is superlatively recorded and sung by a cast that is better at most points than that of the discontinued version. The performance is faithful, even in details of orchestration, to the original presentation of the opera at Prague in 1786. The two arias added for the Vienna production of 1788—Don Ottavio's "Dalla sua pace" and Donna Elvira's "In quali eccessi"—are included as an appendix on the last record side. An accompanying booklet provides the complete Italian libretto with an excellent translation, along with scholarly notes by Alfred Einstein. The Donna Anna (Gertrude Grob-Prandl), Donna Elvira (Hilde Konetzni), Don Giovanni (Mariano Stabile) and Don Ottavio (Herbert Handt) are all interpreters of the first magnitude, and the lesser singers in the other parts are excellent. Without sacrificing an appropriate Mozart style, the singers create an air of dramatic verisimilitude that has seldom been equaled in operatic recordings. Under Hans Swarowsky the orchestra plays faultlessly and fluently, and all the tempos seem just about perfect to me. This is a superlative accomplishment.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Extreme Situations

THE STORY DEPARTMENT of 20th Century-Fox has been earning credit for itself and profit for the studio by reading *The New Yorker*. The two latest results of this pleasant industry are "Fourteen Hours" and "USS Teakettle" (earlier ones were "Mr. 880" and "The Jackpot"). By now, I suppose, all the studios have discovered Harold Ross's enterprising little East Coast weekly; it might pay them to dig into the back files, for *The New Yorker* has been publishing these excursions into human eccentricity and unlikely adventure for some 25 years.

"Fourteen Hours" is prefaced by a careful statement that the ensuing tale is a complete fiction. There may be legal reasons for this disclaimer, but it is a little foolish in view of the fact that the movie is based on Joel Sayre's "The Man on the Ledge," which in turn was an exhaustive discussion of a sensational suicide of a few years back. That, however, is the only foolish thing about the picture. It suffers from a serious fault, of which more later, but it is directed and performed with a combination of flamboyance and subtlety that causes the spectator to share in the proceedings with an intensity evoked by few films. "Fourteen Hours" is an exhausting picture.

The principal credit for the film's quality belongs to Henry Hathaway, who directed it, and to Richard Basehart and Paul Douglas, the man on the ledge and the cop in the window. The script is rigorous: Basehart must stand on a two-foot slab of granite for an hour and a half and, for a like period, Douglas must sit in the window next to him and they must talk. To be sure, there are brief side excursions. The screen writer, John Paxton, has invented a couple of romantic vignettes, springing from the morbid entertainment and inserted to relieve the terrible sterility of Basehart's vigil. The man's father and mother (Agnes Moorehead and Robert Keith) and his fiancée (Barbara Bel Geddes) also appear to fill in a rather glib psychological background. But relentlessly the camera swings back to the two men frozen to their posts, the one trying to make up his mind, the other wheedling, threatening, reasoning, joking and above all talking on and on in an effort to prevent him from doing so. That the struggle seems entirely real and that it seems dramatically worth doing is a tribute to the extraordinary flexibility and emotional authority of Basehart and Douglas in their straitjacketed roles.

Their success is the more impressive because the picture is in fact singularly pointless. It is true that the tragedy from which it derives seemed pointless because we never learned its point, but "Fourteen Hours" is not a documentary; it is a fiction that purports to offer insights into the characters it depicts. There are only two possible endings: the hero will jump or he will not jump, and in either case we must be satisfied that there is a consistency, if not an in-

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evitability, to his decision. The conflict must be resolved from within the man if the film is to have any purpose beyond nervous sensation, but "Fourteen Hours" resorts to a trick to end the suspense and then assures us with a bland smile that everything is going to be all right. It evades its responsibility to tell us who the man on the ledge really was; in that sense it is a fraud, but the best-contrived and performed fraud in many a day.

"USS Teakettle" is derived from John W. Hazard's hilarious account of the exasperations and humiliations that afflict a Navy crew, made up almost entirely of amateurs, when it is ordered to man and test-run the PC 1168, a vessel with a top-secret devil in its bowels. The officers have only book knowledge of seamanship and the behavior of the PC 1168 in crowded waters is a matter for comment throughout the fleet: they have no knowledge whatever of the monstrous engine that takes them on their erratic voyages. However, officers and men leap to their assignment with an hysterical devotion to duty (and fear of superiors) that is both admirable and disintegratingly funny.

The captain of the baleful *Teakettle* is Gary Cooper, no comedian. But he has been surrounded by a cast so dextrous, extrovert and appealing (it includes Eddie Albert, Richard Erdman, Millard Mitchell and the wonderfully quiet and effective Jack Webb) that there is scarcely time to notice that the elderly star is standing around with his hands hanging down. The picture is directed, again, by Henry Hathaway from a script by Richard Murphy; both men know a good deal about the Navy and everything about farce. Jane Greer appears as Cooper's wife, an irrelevant part mechanically performed.

"The Magnet" is an attractive bit of British gayety and sentiment. Like "The Fallen Idol," it works with the fears and hopes of a child's world, but it is a sunny story, often a witty one, that manages to be knowledgeable without going beneath the surface.

It would spoil the fun to reveal much of the plot—a small boy (William Fox, a pleasantly unaffected and responsive actor) has obtained a toy magnet through a dubious stratagem. His uneasy conscience and some plausible coincidences serve to magnify the peccadillo to nightmarish proportions and the boy becomes seriously upset before a benevolent script sets him free.

Stephen Murray and Kay Walsh, two of the most reliably satisfying of British screen actors, play the boy's parents and succeed in being people in their own right instead of the simpering shadows that usually support child leads. Much of the amusement is supplied by Murray, who, playing a child psychologist, offers a confident but entirely erroneous diagnosis of his son's trouble. Older children should enjoy "The Magnet."

The terrible and wonderful story of Scott's last voyage to the Antarctic has been made into a reverent picture by the producer-director team of Michael Balcon and Charles Frend (the same pair was responsible for "The Magnet"). The writers on the job, Walter Meade and Ivor Montague, held their text as closely as possible to Scott's memorable journal and the picture is in every way a decent reconstruction.

"Scott of the Antarctic" is, however, a self-conscious picture; the members of its cast move about in stiff awareness that they are portraying British heroes. The characters never come to individual life (their group life is real enough) and the action, after some perfunctory introductory scenes, becomes a brutal, hopeless, pitiful march into the teeth of what you know must be a wind machine.

John Mills, who is the current screen symbol of Britain with her back to the wall, has nothing but his now familiar reserve and indomitability to contribute to the image of Scott; his words, however, are often fine, for they are often Scott's. The Technicolor scenery is evilly beautiful, but the Technicolor makeup is both atrociously overdone and ridiculously inconsistent. The picture is an honorable description of what must have happened to the gallant men of this doomed adventure. Scott's journal is a better one.

ROBERT HATCH

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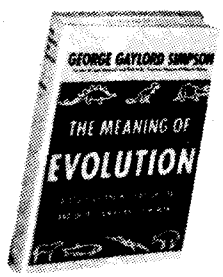

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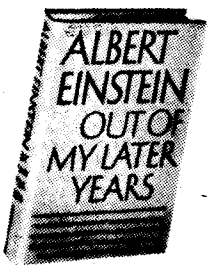

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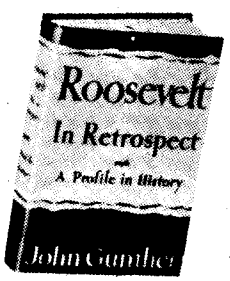

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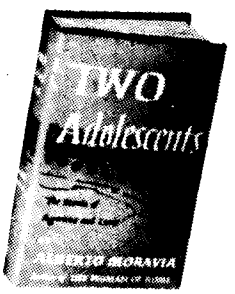

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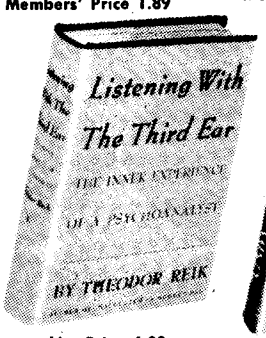

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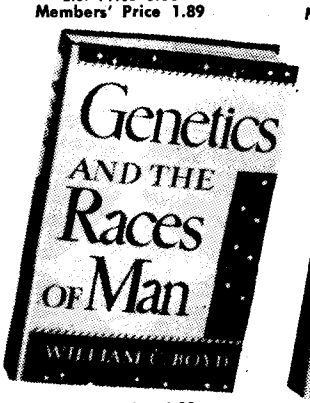

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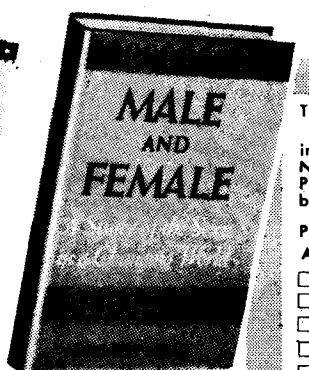

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